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ABSTRACT

This study examined social class indicators of Greek migrants to the Federal Republic of Germany and non-migrants since 1960 to test the hypotheses that migrant workers as a majority are a positive select group (as compared to non-migrants of the same place of origin and time period) in terms of characteristics relevant to educational success and that the school success of their children in West Germany would be equal to or even above the average of the German children after about three decades of functioning below their potential. Findings indicated that children of migrant workers are erroneously classified as lower class because of the jobs their parents usually have in West Germany, a fact which has resulted in many negative consequences for the children in the schools. However, data indicated that Greek migrant children are beginning to function on an achievement level which could have been expected from them (as extrapolated from their parents' attributes) had they attended the schools in their country of origin. It is predicted that even a superior performance will be observed in the long run, provided other factors do not disturb the development and school conditions in rural areas improve. (NEC)

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February 1986

The Children of Migrant Workers in West German Schools: A Pool of Hidden Talents?

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Diether Hopf
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February 1986

The Children of Migrant Workers in West German Schools:

A Pool of Hidden Talents?

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1. The general situation of children of migrant workers in the Federal Republic of Germany

At present, there are about 4.4 million aliens living in the FRG and West Berlin; this is equivalent to approximately 7.8% of the total population (1). Roughly three quarters of the foreign nationals originate from the so-called recruitment countries, particularly Turkey, Italy, Yugoslavia, Greece, and Spain, from which workers were recruited by the FRG until 1973. It is the children of these foreign nationals who concern us in this paper and the members of one nation are taken as an example. The "chique" (non-recruitment) aliens from Austria, Great Britain, Japan, the USA, etc. are not considered here.

Approximately three quarters of the aliens have been living in the FRG for seven years or longer, and over half of them arrived ten or more years ago. The age and family structure has shifted considerably over this period: Whereas 20 years ago a relatively large number of migrant workers was unmarried or lived alone, the proportion between men and women is now more balanced, and there is a growing number of children and young people.

In the future, the numerical proportions between Germans and aliens, particularely between German and foreign children, will shift still further, as can be seen from Figure 1. The figure shows, among other things, the different relations

between producers and nonproducers as well as the shift in the numerical proportions among children and juveniles (2).

<<<<< insert fig.1 here >>>>>

More specifially, Table 1 shows the changing proportions of foreign children in the last years.

TABLE 1: Proportion (in percent) of aliens among 6-to-10-year-old children.

1977.....7.99	1981.....14.84
1978.....9.61	1982.....14.72
1979.....11.68	1983.....13.69
1980.....13.76	1984.....12.18
	1985.....12.65

Source: Grund- und Strukturdaten 1985/86, p. 239

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2. The children of foreign nationals in the German education system

According to the statistics of the Conference of the Ministers of Education and Culture (KultusministerKonferenz) of August 1985, 663,500 foreign children attended schools of general education in the FRG during the 1984/85 schoolyear. 85.1% of these come from the following 6 recruitment countries: Turkey (50.1%), Italy (10.6%), Yugoslavia (12.3%), Greece (6.9%), Spain (3.2%), and Portugal (2.0%). The proportion of foreign pupils of the total number of school children varies according to school type. For the school year 1984/85 the percentages were as follows: primary school and secondary modern school (Hauptschule) 12.5; special schools (Sonderschul n) 13.7; grammar school

(Gymnasium) 3.0%; secondary technical school (Realschule) 4.2%; comprehensive school (Gesamtschule) 9.2%. The unequal distribution is shown in more detail in table 2.

<<<<< insert table 2 here >>>>>

These average figures for the whole FRG conceal the fact that there are considerable regional differences. For example, the quota of foreign pupils attending special schools (of all pupils in special schools) in the FRG in the school year 1984/85 totalled 13.7%, but the extremes ranged from 23.9% in Baden-Württemberg to 5.8% in Schleswig-Holstein, whereby the quotas for nationals of different foreign countries varied considerably. For example, only 4.2% of the Jugoslav pupils went to special schools as compared to 8.5% of the Italians (the average of all students in the FRG is 3.8%). Also, disparities in distributions within the individual Federal States (Bundesländer) are pronounced.

An examination of the quantitative relations shows that the end of schooling is a special problem area. Considering the customary close relation in the FRG between career choice opportunities, job training and practice, and school reports and qualifications, it is important to note that, for example, as much as 20.9% of the children who left the secondary modern school without successfully finishing it, were of foreign parentage, while only 8.5% of the successful school leavers were of foreign origin (school year 1984/85) (3).

3. The study

The informations given show very clearly that foreign children compared to Germans are very much at a disadvantage as far as school success and type of secondary school they go to is concerned. They are underrepresented in grammar and secondary technical (intermediate) schools (Gymnasium and Realschule) and overrepresented at secondary modern schools (Hauptschule). But so far only very few persons have wondered why this is the case(4). On the contrary, in public opinion as well as in most research the low school achievement of foreign children is considered a normal event, and the question whether this situation could change if certain measures were taken is usually not asked. To be sure, a slight general improvement over the years has been perceived by many people working with foreign children, particularly teachers and school administrators, but this improvement is usually explained as the result of slowly dissolving language barriers which previously impeded these children's achievement.

The main reason for the fact that the low educational standing of the foreign children in German schools is usually considered to be more or less normal (except for the large number of foreign dropouts, mainly in vocational education) goes back to the commonly held belief that migrant workers in the FRG belong to the lower social class. And indeed, according to the prevailing criteria of social stratification, a high percentage of foreign workers do belong to the lower social class in Germany: First, they

mainly work in factories or have other sorts of blue collar jobs (see Chapter 6.1). Second, their income is equal to or even lower than that of German blue collar workers. Third, their education, as measured by number of years of schooling, is, on the average, even lower than that of their German social class counterparts, particularly if midparent education is used as the indicator. For German children from the lower social strata the situation in school is similar to that of the migrant children: they are underrepresented in the positive select secondary school, the Gymnasium, and overrepresented in the negative select school, the Hauptschule (5). Because nobody would expect high or even only average school achievement (except for a few cases) from German lower class children, accordingly nobody expects the foreign children to do better in school than their German social class counterparts.

3.1 Purpose

The question is whether this kind of analogous thinking makes sense at all. From the early times of labor migration to the FRG, the hypothesis was stated that very many of the migrant workers are in one way or the other outstanding individuals, whose children, for reasons which were not linguistic alone, often were not able to perform in school on a level corresponding to their competence. Frequent (though casual) interviews and observations of the author in one country of origin confirmed that impression: Usually the migrants themselves had not been low achievers in their village of origin, but were described as active, flexible

individuals with initiative and often high standing in the community before migration. In any case it was apparent that in order to find out who the migrants were and particularly in order to get information concerning their characteristics, which could be used for making predictions concerning the long-term educational achievement of their children in the German educational system, it was necessary to find out about their relative standing within their country of origin (or sometimes if possible even within the community they came from). To place and compare them without further consideration in the context of the German social stratification pattern clearly would be misleading.

Consequently, the hypothesis was formulated that the migrant workers - at least from some countries and some time periods - as a majority are a positive select group (as compared to the non-migrants of the same place of origin and the same time period) in terms of characteristics which are relevant to educational success, and that the school success of their children in Germany would be equal to or even above the average of the German children after about three decades of functioning below their potential (6). Starting last year, data about the selectiveness of the migration process, the reasons for this selectiveness, and the developments in the target country were collected.

3.2 Sample

So far, I have always talked about "the migrants" in Germany as if they were a homogeneous group. And indeed, most people

in the FRG distinguish only between Germans and "guestworkers", and even in research there is only a minority of studies where a distinction between different nations is made. But studies on a subject like this have to be specific to nations and to historical time periods, whatever the nature of data collected and the methods of analysis used might be (7). If one wants to find out about a topic like selective migration, one has to take into consideration, among other things, the changing push and pull mechanisms of the countries of origin and destination, the changing admission practices, the changing perception of the migrants of the attractiveness of competing target countries, and the changing rate of (selective?) remigration (8).

For the purpose of this study it was decided to take Greece as an example country, and the time period beginning with 1960, when migration started in a quantitatively considerable extent. The reasons for this decision are manifold. To give only a few of them: The Turkish, although by far the largest group of migrant workers in Germany, started much later than the Greeks to come to Germany. Therefore, the trends in the educational development of their children cannot be detected clearly enough yet. The Italians (as the earliest "guestworkers") have been full members of the European Community for many years, a fact which has affected the school careers of their children considerably and in an untypical (and detrimental) way. The Yugoslavs, though they are a very good example for

confirming the hypothesis concerning school success of the "second generation" in Germany, are a particularly heterogeneous nation with subpopulations of different culture, religion, and value systems; considerable additional difficulties would have been encountered during an analysis of the details of their migration process.

3.3 Methods

Some of the above arguments concerning the nation chosen as an example are relevant also for the decision about methods used in this study. The search for a possible pool of hidden talents, as the title of the paper implies, normally is conducted by means of methods similar to those frequently used, for example, in research on underachievement. If an approach of this type would have been adopted, the procedure would have been to collect and compare test results of IQ and scholastic achievement of different nationals not only in Germany, but also in the country of origin in order to assess the relative standing of the migrant children within their national age group. Clearly, a procedure like this would have been possible in principle, but very time consuming and extraordinarily expensive because nearly no tests for such purposes are available either in Germany or in Greece.

Therefore it was decided to use data which were for the most part already available, to use, if necessary, approximations, which would be just reliable and valid enough for showing (or not showing) the phenomenon expected,

and to concentrate on the search for possible reasons and explanations. So, instead of direct measures of educational talent for finding out about the relative standing of the migrant workers and their children in Germany as compared to the nation they come from, indirect measures (mainly social class indicators as predictors of scholastic potential) were adopted; neither mono-cultural nor cross-cultural testing (with all its difficulties and hazards) was conducted.

The data used consisted of:

1. Analysis of historical events
2. Census and microcensus data in both countries starting from the early twenties to the present
3. Data of different provenience concerning the labor migration (ministry of labor, unemployment services, etc.)
4. Data from various psychological, educational and sociological studies in both countries on migrant laborers and their children, which were conducted by other researchers for other purposes
5. Official data on school enrollment of foreign children in some of the States in Germany. (Astonishingly enough, it was particularly difficult and costly to obtain these informations. Furthermore, they were much less detailed than the corresponding data on the German school children and full of gaps, probably because the interest in the school achievement of foreign children has developed only recently.)

6. Information concerning the educational problems of remigrant children in the schools of their country of origin.

Besides the data mentioned, information was obtained from many interviews with experts in both countries who commented on historical events and on unexpected outcomes of the various data analyses.

4. Social stratification and educational aspiration and achievement in the country of origin

It is a commonly held belief, which is repeated over and over again even by experts, that in Greece no correlation exists between social class and educational aspiration or achievement, and if it exists then in a far lesser degree than in other Western societies. Only few researchers present evidence in which the correlation between social class and educational achievement is supported for the Greek population.

On the other hand, although its structure is apt to offer equal educational opportunities to everybody (a nearly non-differentiated comprehensive school for everybody from grade 1 through 12; see HOPF, 1984), it is evident that the Greek educational system functions in a selective way. For example, from the student cohort entering primary school in 1960/61, 95% finished elementary school (after 6 years), 63% entered the secondary school, 33% finished it (after grade

12), and 11% were admitted to the universities (9). Although recent reforms have diminished the selectivity, it still continues to exist: of the cohort entering the first grade of secondary school in 1974/75, only 54.4% reached the last grade (10). This raises the question whether or not the students who succeed in the secondary schools or reach the tertiary level of education are a random sample of the population, for example in terms of social class, sex, regional provenience.

4.1 Criteria of social stratification

Before investigating social class (using criteria of social stratification) and its covariations with school achievement in the country of origin, some basic facts were obtained concerning the social stratification pattern. Since until now only very little research has been conducted on that topic, particularly in connection with features of the public educational system (except universities) (11), a rough description of the situation will be presented.

The main difficulty with the use of common stratification patterns stems from the fact that the standard criteria of social class - occupation, income and education - can be used for Greece only with great caution and together with additional information:

1. Concerning occupation, various difficulties had to be overcome, the most important being the following: The official statistics divide the population into three occupational categories, namely branches of economic

activity (e.g. agriculture; mining; manufacturing), groups of individual occupations (e.g. professional, technical, and related workers; administrative, executive and managerial workers; tradespeople and sales workers;), and occupational status (e.g. employers; "own-account" workers). But in most categories, persons of completely different education, income etc. are included. For example, in the group 'professional, technical and related workers' there are surgeons as well as clergymen; or, in the group 'farmers etc' there are farm owners employing others as well as wage earners or unpaid family members; or in the category 'workers in transport etc.' you would find aircraft pilots as well as deck workers on a ship. Of special interest in later sections of this paper will be the fact that by far the majority of emigrating farmers are the farm-owners themselves or their family members, not the wage earners (e.g. 1962 6.100 emigrating farmers versus 20 farm workers); the other big group of migrants, the craftsmen, production process workers, and laborers, consisted to some part of learned people like tailors, toolmakers, carpenters, construction workers etc (1963: 16% of the migrants of that occupational group) (12). - In any case it is evident that the categories do not divide the working population into homogeneous groups of persons with a set of (more or less) interrelated characteristics which could be supposed to have a clear connection with (and a good predictive power of) the educational behavior of the children.

Furthermore, there have been dramatic changes going on in the vocational sector (as is probably true in most countries with a fast change from an agrarian into an industrial society). Many occupations that were common 15 to 20 years ago, were non-existent or very rare in 1981. In addition, the standing of many occupations on a social status scale had changed considerably within the time period mentioned.

2. As far as income as an indicator of social class is concerned, the quality of the existing data is so poor that no effort could have made them usable. Even the most recent, careful approach to that problem, made by the Statistical Service of Greece, ended with results which did not make sense: On the average, the income of the persons interviewed was, according to what they answered, considerably lower than their minimum fixed expenses (rent, food, heating, clothing etc.) (13). So no use could be made of this indicator.

3. Even education as a criterion is more difficult to use than in Western industrialized countries. The main reason for this is the fact that the recent history of Greece was so turbulent that many age cohorts did not get a chance of a normal education. Particularly for the generation of the migrant workers (the majority of whom migrated in the sixties), the Second World War and especially the following Civil War in Greece (1945-49) resulted in considerably reduced chances of schooling. Because of those historic events, the number of years of schooling often represents

only the opportunity, not the educational aspiration of a family or the scholastic potential of a person.

In addition, education as an indicator is problematic in Greece because, for the older generations, tremendous differences exist between males and females in number of years of schooling as well as in literacy. Although these differences have disappeared in the younger generation, they have to be taken into consideration when selecting criteria for defining social class or for predicting educational attainment of the following generation. In any case, a composite measure like midparent education is of no use for the generation under discussion.

Although these difficulties are unusually severe, covariations between social status indicators of the parent generation and educational success of their children were found in the direction shown in the traditional literature - if special precautions were taken. For example, it was necessary to restrict the number of categories for defining social status, three being the maximum number of levels to be used. Income, as mentioned above, had to be excluded completely as a criterion; occupation had to be used with particular caution and in different ways for different age cohorts (14); and education was useful only when restricted to the father and, in some cases, when weighted differently according to the historic and regional situation of the individuals concerned.

The social class division adopted in this paper and used in most cases of the data analyses corresponds to the division applied predominantly in sociological studies of contemporary Western societies (15). Labor is divided into a) non-manual and b) manual labor. Non-manual labor contains the upper, the middle, and lower middle class and includes the following occupational groups: large and small employers in industry and commerce; liberal professions; high and medium level managers and civil servants; clerical workers and sales workers. Manual labor includes the working and the agricultural class, namely foremen, skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled workers; agricultural workers (16).

4.2 Inequalities in post-secondary education

Putting aside the strong evidence on inequalities in higher education according to region and sex (see e.g. LAMBIRI-DIMAKI, 1983; OECD, 1980), there is also a clear correlation between social class and educational success in the tertiary sector of the educational system, especially in the universities.

The newest official statistics (17) present the following picture. In 1980, the university students reported their father's occupation (in brackets percentage of the occupations in the whole economically active male population (18)) as being:

- 15.3% (7.9%) professional, technical and related workers
- 0.7% (2.1%) administrative, executive and managerial workers
- 17.8% (7.2%) clerical and related workers
- 14.8% (8.7%) tradesmen and salesworkers
- 5.1% (7.2%) service workers
- 17.9% (26.4%) farmers, loggers and related workers
- 23.6% (37.2%) craftsmen, laborers and operators of transport means.

41.5% of the university students are children of manual workers (the last two categories) who represent as much as 63.6% of the male working population; while 53.7% of the students come from upper and middle class families (categories 1 to 5) who represent, according to the criterion used, only 33.1% of the male working population. The trend is clear although by far not as strong as in other West European countries.

Taking the level of education of the fathers of university students as criterion (19), the following results are

obtained for 1980/81 (in brackets percentage of people 45 years or older with the same level of education in the population (20)):

- 17.8% (5.2%) have diploma of higher education schools
- 27.0% (11.0%) have completed secondary education
- 42.3% (45.5%) have completed primary education
- 11.7% (23.0%) have not completed primary education
- 0.9% (7.0%) are illiterate.

The figures show clearly the overrepresentation of the children with better educated fathers in the universities. On the other hand, it is worth noting that children with fathers having only primary education (45.5%) are not underrepresented in the universities (42.3%). Data like this shows the unusual interest of Greek families in the education of their children (21).

For the earlier years, there are studies which show more pronounced effects than the ones given above. The best sources are found in the work of LAMBIRI-DIMAKI, 1983, POLYDORIDES, 1978, and in the OECD-report on educational policy and planning in Greece (1980). Interesting differences are also observed between students of different fields of study. In summary, the social class bias of higher education in Greece can be considered as a well-established fact.

4.3 Inequalities in secondary education

Much more relevant to the present study than the inequalities which can be observed in the tertiary sector would be evidance on similar differences in the secondary

(and primary) sector of the education system, since very few of the migrant workers have an education beyond secondary level. But informations on this topic are very rare indeed, partly because of the above-mentioned way of coding family members separately, partly because of the sparse information on drop-outs, repeating students etc. and their characteristics in the official statistics, and partly because of the near complete lack of empirical research on this topic.

First of all it should be mentioned that the overall participation in education (number of students relative to their age group) has increased considerably over the last two or three decades. While the primary sector is of marginal interest because it has been compulsory for a long time, the secondary level shows developments reaching from 33% (girls 28%) in 1960 to 54% (54%) in 1970 and 58% (59%) in 1981 (22). On the other hand, the same data show a considerable dropout rate in the secondary stage. It would be of high interest to know who the pupils leaving school early in terms of social class criteria are, but no such information is available.

Equality of sexes in the educational sector has been obtained in Greece earlier than in many other European countries. Furthermore, similar to developments in other countries, the success rate of girls in secondary schools is higher than that of boys. It is not astonishing then to find increasing proportions of girls as one moves through the grades of secondary schooling: In a quasi-cohort starting

with 1974/75, the proportion of girls was 47.9% in the beginning, in the following years 48.3%, 48.9%, 50.0%, 50.7%, and finally 51.8% in 1979/80 (23).

As far as region is concerned, similar patterns of inequality as are known from other countries exist in Greece as well. There are not only many more tiny schools with only one or two teachers catering for all the students of grades 1 through 6 (in 1974/75, 93% of those schools were in rural areas), but also fewer Frontisteria, the private, efficient cramming institutions that prepare students for taking the university entrance examinations. The participation of the population in secondary education was particularly low in the age group of the 13 - 15 year olds in the Northern (mostly rural) regions where most migrant workers to the FRG come from: Thrace and Macedonia. This is true as well for 1960 as for 1970 (24), a time period when many decisions for staying or leaving were made on the basis of the perceived chances for a better life. Similar figures describe the situation of the 16 - 18 year olds in the upper secondary level.

As far as social class indicators are concerned, some information exists on the intraindividual covariations between relevant variables. Crosstabulations of occupation by educational level of the same persons show that higher education graduates are represented to a higher proportion in the professional, technical, administrative and managerial group while graduates from secondary school are found more often as clerical and office workers and

graduates from primary schools as peasants, workers, and workers in services. These trends hold true as well for the population census of 1961 as of 1971 and 1981, with a decreasing tendency (25). Table 3 describes the situation according to the results of the newest population census of 1981.

<<<<< insert table 3 here >>>>>

Age clearly plays an important role, as is expected from the recent history of the country. Sex is relevant especially for the older people. Naturally, part of this covariation is accounted for by entrance prerequisites for some of the occupations. But this does not explain the strength of the connection, since in many occupations educational prerequisites do not exist beyond compulsory schooling.

As far as the situation between the generations is concerned, the evidence on this topic is scarce and not particularly robust. Nevertheless, it points to the direction known from research in most other Western societies, namely that in secondary schooling too the chances of children with parents of different status seem to be different. For example, some informal research done in Thessaloniki in 1981 shows that children from the working class areas of the Western city had less success in the entrance examinations to the upper secondary circle as compared to children from the middle class areas in the East (26).

Indications can be found also from data on illiteracy. While illiteracy basically is mainly a problem of the elderly, particularly the women, there is evidence that lower class people are to a much higher percentage illiterates than people from the middle and upper class.

In a questionnaire study of 1980 (KELPANIDES, 1983), some information has been obtained on the covariation of social class of parents and decision for post-compulsory schooling of 9th-graders (end of compulsory education), which points to the same trends as described above. Differences between the social classes are also reported in connection with educational aspirations of parents.

To sum up, there is convincing evidence that, similar to the situation in other Western societies, Greece has clear social class (and gender and regional) inequalities in the tertiary sector of the education system. In the secondary and primary level, the data is weaker, and the correlations are lower. It seems plausible that also at this level the retentivity of the school system (proportion of age group still in school) is different for students from different types of families. Gender does not seem to be an important variable; if it is, it is working in favour of the females. Regional inequalities have diminished in the last years but still exist. Concerning social class, the main focus of this chapter, it seems to be a fair conclusion that children who come from middle and upper class families have a higher probability of finishing secondary school: They are found, as was pointed out above, to a much higher percentage at the

university level; non-manual workers have more years of schooling; and some informal research shows the direct connections. However, more research is needed on this question.

Since a correlation between social class inicators and educational success can be assumed, the search for an answer to the main question of this study, namely how do the migrant workers compare to the population in the country of origin concerning the variables which are predictive of educational behavior, can be continued with some confidence. Only a comparison within the home country, not in the target country, would give us valid informations, because they have acquired the characteristics which are relevant for the school success of their children (educational aspiration, reinforcement habits, etc.) there. Also, their children would have been in the position to materialize their cognitive competence in their country of origin. If migrants are a positive group of people according to the criteria of their home country, they (and their children) should, in the long run, function above average in the target country too.

5. Characteristics of the migrant workers

The question being whether the migrant workers are a positively or negatively selected group rather than a random selection of the population at large, the available studies and data concerning this group were analyzed in a way that they could be compared with the population in their country

of origin. Special notice was taken of the variables which probably would have connections with the educational attainment of their children. Had these people been successful before migration (relative to their peers)? Would they have been successful had they stayed in Greece? Would their children have been achievers in school? The problem not to be attacked in this paper is the complex and until now only vaguely understood phenomenon of the motives of migrants (27).

5.1 Some general remarks on Greek migration

Migration - or until recently rather emigration - is an old problem of the Greek nation. Figure 2 gives a picture of its size and the dramatic changes in different time periods.

‹‹‹‹‹ insert figure 2 here ›››››

Of particular interest here is the migration period starting 1960 because until then only small numbers of Greeks were leaving for the FRG. Figure 3 depicts the most reliable data on the Greek migration to Germany (28).

‹‹‹‹‹ insert figure 3 here ›››››

The figure does not only show the changes in the migration flow due to economic and other reasons in the home and the target country (e.g. economic depression in the FRG 1967), but also the diminishing proportion of economically active persons in the migrant group: Starting in the late sixtees, families were reunited or migrated together. In November 1973, the government of the FRG officially stopped

immigration. It is worth noting that between 1968 and 1973 roughly a third of the migrants have been the same persons who had been in the FRG already (29).

As far as region is concerned there is clear evidence that the majority of the migrant workers who came to the FRG come from the Northern regions of Greece, a fact which has to be kept in mind when the question of selective migration is discussed. Traditionnally, emigrants to overseas countries stem from the islands and Peloponnesos.

Migrants generally belong to the younger age groups as compared to the population they come from. This is true also for the Greek migrants to the FRG, as can be seen from table 4.

Table 4: Population and migrants 1961 according to age groups, in percent

Age in years	Population	Migrants
Up to 14	26.3	6.3
15 to 44	44.9	88.9
Above 44	28.8	4.8

Source: NSSG, Yearbook 1968, 37

Useful information about the provenience of the migrants can also be deducted from the age pyramid, since it mirrors certain relevant historic events. Figure 4 presents the situation at the time of the population census 1961 which is considered most relevant in this context.

<<<<< insert figure 4 about here >>>>>

Besides the birth reduction in connection with World War I and II and the Greek Civil War, the outstanding feature of the age pyramid is the sizeable birth surplus a few years after the so-called catastrophe of Minor Asia when the Greek army was defeated by the Turks in 1922 and a dramatic exchange of people was undertaken in the following years. More than 1.3 million Greeks had to leave Minor Asia and to settle in Greece, mostly in the Northern parts of it. This event is going to be analyzed in some more detail later.

5.2 The social class origin of the migrant workers

Despite the above mentioned problems of social stratification in Greece (see chapter 4.1), it seemed possible to find out something about educationally relevant characteristics of the migrant workers, especially about their social class position which could be considered as correlating with school success.

5.2.1 Occupation

The data available on this important criterion have to be derived from heterogeneous sources. Table 5 gives approximate information on the inequality of the migrant group in terms of individual occupations before migration as compared to the economically active population of census 1971.

<<<<< insert table 5 here >>>>>

As compared to the male population in the home country, the migrants represented an economically much more active group (53.7 % versus 77.9% on average) when they left their country. However, as far as groups of occupations are concerned, there is a overrepresentation of the lower class jobs, namely farmers and workers: Whereas about a third of the economically active population worked either as farmers or as workers in 1971, about 45% of each category (farmers or workers) were in the migrant's group (30). Without further interpretation, this would seem to be a finding running against the hypothesis which assumes that the migrants are a positive select group. But three things have to be kept in mind: a) that the migrant farmers on the majority were farm-owners or family members, not wage earning dependents (see above, chapter 4.1), b) that a considerable proportion of the workers, according to the standards of their home country, are well-trained craftsmen or highly estimated industrial workers (31), and c) that the migrants mainly come from the relatively underdeveloped regions of Northern Greece, where only scarce chances existed for economic success and where the majority of refugees from Minor Asia had been transferred to. This is going to be discussed in more detail later.

The most interesting discussion of this topic in the literature so far stems from GECK, 1979 (32). Besides other arguments,the following points are relevant here. Already in 1964 there was a move of the Greek employers against the loss of qualified workers; this could be interpreted as

evidence of a dangerous shortage in the home country (33). Second, according to informations from the Ministry of Labor, between 1970 and 1973 14% of the migrants selected by the German Commission in Greece were specialized workers (34). This figure probably is an underestimation since data of the German Commission refer to only 72.5% during this time period (65.6% in the full period 1960 to 1973) (35); it it highly plausible that many of the other migrants who found a job in Germany without the help of the German Commission were more often specialized workers from the very beginning. Third, according to German sources the proportion of Greek workers in Germany having finished apprenticeship before they left Greece was 20% in 1972 (36). It might be added that according to other Greek sources in Athens about 80% of the newly trained skilled workers went to Germany in the early sixties (37). Finally, sizeable economic drawbacks have been observed in the regions of origin of the migrant workers (38); this could be understood partly as a result of the loss of the more active and more productive sector of the inhabitants.

The problem with all these figures is the lack of data for comparison with the population. Nevertheless the evidence presented points into the direction of a positive selection of the migrants as compared to the population of Greece, particularly of the Northern regions where the majority of migrants to Germany came from, as far as occupation is concerned. There is no evidence in favor of a counter-hypothesis.

5.2.2 Education

The informations available on education are not without problems and have to be carefully scrutinized for their reliability. According to a German representative study on migrants (39), 66% of the male and 62% of the female Greek migrant workers in the FRG had at least finished the 6-year primary school. Although this does not seem to be a high level of education, it has to be seen in the context of the home country where the primary school offers an internally complete curriculum and has been for a long time the only compulsory school (40). Other sources report higher figures of above 80% up to 98% (41). This compares rather favorably with the Greek population, particularly when the educational level of the inhabitants of the Northern regions of Greece, where most migrants came from, is taken as the point of reference. Table 6 gives an overview of some of the available statistics which permits comparison.

Table 6: Population aged 10 years and over by selected geographic regions and educational level, in percent (Census 1971). Data on migrants' education.

	Have complete primary educ. or above	Illiterate
Males		
All Greece	71.8	6.2
Epirus	68.6	5.6
Thessaly	64.9	6.8
Macedonia	67.6	6.6
Thrace	52.7	17.8
Average	63.4	9.2
Migrants:		

BfA	66	4
Kasimati	.....98.4	.....1.6
<u>Females</u>		
All Greece	.....55.5	.....21.3
Epirus	.....45.4	.....30.6
Thessaly	.....45.4	.....29.7
Macedonia	.....52.8	.....20.7
Thrace	.....37.3	.....36.4
Average	.....45.2	.....29.4
Migrants:		
BfA	62	7
Kasimati	.....93.4	.....6.7

Source: NSSG, Yearbook 1980, 107 and 109.
BUNDESANSTALT FÜR ARBEIT, 1973, 28 (BfA)
KASIMATI, 1984, 27.

First, the proportion of illiterates among the migrants is much lower than among the non-migrants, particularly for the females. This is partly an age effect, partly a result of the explicit selection policy of the German Commission, which intended not to hire illiterates (42). Also, in the data on completed primary education (and above) of the population census of 1971, where 72% of the males and 56% of the females showed this level of education, the migrants seem to be an above average group, when the data given by German and by Greek authorities are averaged. The comparison is even more favourable for the migrants when the results of the census 1961 are taken for reference: 63% of the males and 44% of the females then reported at least a completed primary education. As mentioned earlier, a comparison of the migrants with the whole Greek population would be somewhat misleading since the migrants come from regions with markedly lower educational opportunities (43). The figures

given for the 4 major regions of origin show that the level of education of the migrants is considerably higher when compared with the population of those regions; again particularly for women. It has to be kept in mind though that the migrants are relatively young (young people having a longer education); compared to the corresponding age groups of the population, the differences would probably be somewhat smaller (the data available does not permit a direct comparison).

Weighting the evidence it seems plausible to consider the migrants as a group above average in terms of level of education reached (44). They are clearly better educated, especially the women, when compared to the population of Northern Greece, the region most of them came from. This conclusion is also in accordance with migration research (45) - a fact which should not be taken as additional evidence since the circumstances of migration change dramatically according to nations and time periods.

5.3 Impact of historic events

The individuality of the migration histories of nations and of specific time periods becomes even more evident when the effect of historic events is analyzed. In the case of Greece there are two major events. One has been mentioned already above: the considerable variance concerning the chances of getting an average education during the time period when many people of the first generation of migrants to Germany were in school age. During World War II, and much more so during the Greek Civil War 1945 to 1949, large cohorts of people did not get the chance to go to school normally. This factor was of special importance in Northern regions where many of the migrant workers come from. In many interviews (there is no systematic research on this topic), the information was given that in a large number of cases school records were given to the pupils even when they had visited school only a few days during the whole school year. Therefore, for the age groups concerned it can be assumed that their de facto school achievement is below the level shown in the school records. Since it has been possible to demonstrate that the migrants are a positive select group in terms of their education as compared even to all Greeks (see above, chapter 5.2.2, table 6), the superiority of the migrants in terms of education becomes even more convincing.

The second major historic event to be mentioned is of particular interest. After the so-called catastrophe of Minor Asia in 1922 (the so-called liberation war from the

Turkish point of view), when the Greeks were defeated by the Turks, there was a huge population exchange, especially between Greece and Turkey, as a consequence of the treaty of Lausanne from January 30, 1923. More than 1.3 million Greeks (46) had to leave Turkey and to settle in Greece. Greece at those times had about 5 million inhabitants who now had to share the country with the refugees.

The interesting aspects of these events in the context of this paper are a) the characteristics of the refugees as compared to the indigenous people and b) the migration behavior of the refugees and their offspring.

In the beginning of the 20th century, Greece was an underdeveloped, predominantly agrarian society, as was true for most of the Balkan countries. In sharp contrast, the Greeks in the Minor Asia diaspora were considered to be the most progressive element in the Balkan area: skillful, flexible, adaptive, world experienced. The reasons for this situation are manifold and complicated and partly go back to the special role these people played in the Osmânian empire. In any case, the occupational mixture of this group was very different from that in Greece. Greeks in Minor Asia were farmers, craftsmen, etc., but also - and to a much higher percentage than the Greeks in the homeland - merchants, bankers, lawyers, physicians and other professionals. They were not only raising their own people for these jobs, but considerable numbers of people were recruited from the Greek islands and from the mother country; it has been said for example that from the ca. 150.000 Greeks in Smyrna (today

Izmir) the majority had been recruited from elsewhere. It is highly probable that this recruitment process was selective in a positive direction (according to the criteria considered relevant in this paper).

The refugees settled under very difficult conditions and in an environment where there was little room for using or developing the competencies they came with. Many of them immediately tried to emigrate from Greece altogether, but only a minor proportion succeeded because of very early immigration restrictions in the USA (see above, figure 2 (47)). The majority of refugees therefore stayed in the new places, particularly Northern Greece and the surroundings of Athens.

However, also in Greece, the refugees became a productive and progressive element because of their high skills and knowledge in agriculture, crafts, and business, and their pioneer spirit. Innumberable reports were given in the interviews and manifold informations can be found in non-official sources on their superiority in managing everyday life, in cooking, in their highly developed hygiene, their extreme interest in the education of the children (without discriminating against girls as usually is the case in agrarian societies), etc. (48).

There are also more objective data concerning their effect on the new home country. About 50% of the refugees worked in agriculture, mainly in Northern Greece. Their <u>impact on the agriculture</u> can be described as follows. Within a few years

of the population exchange the cultivated area of all Greece had increased by 55% (as compared to the population increase of 25 to 30%); in Macedonia, the increase between 1922 and 1931 was slightly above 100%, in Thrace ca. 105%, in Epiros 125% (49). These figures are especially impressive since about half of the area settled by the refugees was considered not to be usable for agricultural purposes (KALOUSSIS, 1934, 32).

More specifically, the refugees introduced new products and new methods and increased the output considerably (e.g. tobacco, cotton, silk, raisins). As far as livestock is concerned, the arrival of the refugees brought the old tradition of nomadic cattle raising (particularly by the Vlachs) nearly to a complete stop because vast areas formerly used by the nomads now had to be used for agriculture. Nevertheless, between 1922 and 1931, according to figures given by the Ministry of National Economy, the number of animals increased in a moderate rate in all Greece; it grew considerably - and again at a faster rate than would be expected from the proportional increase of the number of inhabitants - in the Northern regions where the refugees had settled (50). After the arrival of the refugees, it can also be observed that the <u>industry</u> got a sizeable push until 1929 when the worldwide economic crisis stopped the development. Details of the change in this sector can be found in KALOUSSIS, 1934.

The development of <u>trade</u> also increased considerably after the arrival of the refugees. As has been mentioned above,

the Greek diaspora in Minor Asia was particularly influential in the trade of the whole region. Smyrna (Izmir), Konstantinoupolis (Istanbul) and some other places at the Mediterranean and the Black Sea were completely dominating the trade: The superior competence of the Greek population resulted in the nearly complete disappearance of a Turkish competition in this sector (KALOUSSIS, 1934, 32). After the population exchange, the appearance of a strong Greek element in the trade particularly of Northern Greece could be observed. The worldwide economic crisis stopped the development in this sector in a similar way as was observed in the industrial sector.

As far as education is concerned, the data available show only a slight advantage of the refugees over the indigenous people. However, the figures probably underestimate the education of the refugees since they refer only to the subpopulation which came after 1923. In addition, a comparison restricted to Northern Greece exhibits somewhat higher differences between indigenous people and refugees in the direction mentioned above. - The problem with the figures available is that no discrimination above the lowest level (able to read and write) is possible. An interesting detail may be mentioned: In accordance with many statements in the interviews, the educational aspiration of the refugees seems to have been very high from the beginning. This is also evident in the somewhat higher percentages of literate children in preschool age of refugee origin which run up to 5% for the 5-year-olds and 27.3% of the

6-year-olds (51). Although the refugees must have been overwhelmed by the adaptation needs in the new country, they managed to care for the education of their infants effectively from the very beginning.

As has been mentioned, the main settlement areas of the refugees were Northern Greece and Athens / Pireus. The distribution over the rest of Greece was of minor importance and less concentrated (52). In Northern Greece, about every third inhabitant can be considered to be a refugee from Minor Asia; in Macedonia about every second. Since members of each age group were among the refugees (53), the population pyramid in figure 4 does not show special inequalities which are due to the population exchange (the whole pyramid became broader) - except the baby boom starting about 1923 and lasting until about 1940, when World War II stopped it. This birth surplus mainly has to be explained as an effect of the new group of inhabitants. It is mainly from this age group where the first huge migration wave to Germany came from; also about one third of the second wave in the early seventies (see above, figure 3) comes from the same group, since more than 30% of the migrants before 1967 emigrated a second time during the second wave (54).

An analysis of the smaller regions (Nomoi) where the refugees settled reveals that in many cases it had been the identical regions where high proportions of refugees were settled; and from where high percentages of the inhabitants

migrated to the FRG. The following table gives a few examples:

Table 7: Greek settlers in selected regions of Northern Greece after the catastrophe of Minor Asia (percent Greeks of the inhabitants); migrants 1961 to 1971 in percent of the inhabitants; Greek migrants to the FRG from the same places (in percent of all emigrants of the area) (55).

	a		b	c
Nomos or region	% Greeks of inhabitants 1912	1926	% Migrants from inhabitants 1961 to 1970	% of migrants who left for FRG 1970 to 1973
Drama	15	96	28.4	94.5
Kilkis	2	97	18.9	83.6
Kavalla	29	100	17.2	86.4
Serres	47	94	14.7	86.9
Grewena	78	96	13.2	87.1
Kozani	60	100	19.9	76.2

Source: PROTONOTARIOU, 1929; GECK, 1979, p. 220 f, 248, 259, 260; KALOUSSIS, 1934, 66.

According to this data, it is highly probable that large proportions of the Greeks in the areas described were of refugee origin (a); relatively high proportions emigrated from the same places (b) mainly to the FRG (c) (56).

To sum up, on the one hand it is evident that the population being forced to leave Minor Asia and to go to Greece was on average at a higher level concerning occupation and education than the people they met after the exchange. On the other hand, it is very plausible that an untypically high proportion of the Greek migrants to the FRG come from families whose roots go back to a subpopulation which can be considered as an outstanding group as far as occupational skill and creativity, educational aspirations and, to a certain degree, achievement is concerned. If this competent

population segment would have met normal chances and constellations when coming to Greece, it probably would have unfolded even more, particularly in Northern Greece, where extreme difficulties had to be overcome. But the economic crisis of 1929 was followed by World War II and the Civil War 1945 to 1949 with the consequence that in 1949 a new, cumbersome phase of economic reconstruction had to be initiated. Hardly ten years later, the huge exodus to Northern Europe started, particularly to West Germany.

5.4 Creaming effects caused by the "German Commission"

Between the German government and the governments of the so-called recruitment countries (see above) contracts were made for assistance in the process of labor migration. For these purposes the so-called "Deutsche Kommissionen" started to work in the sending countries. They tried to recruit the persons needed by the German employers and to find job openings for the people who wanted to migrate to the FRG. The overall effect of the work of these commissions can be seen as an additional selective factor in the migration process.

In Greece, the German Commission worked from 1960 until the labor migration was stopped by the German government in November 1973. The following table presents an overview of the quantitative dimension of its work.

Table 8: Assisted Greek labor migration to Europe

	a All migrants to Europe	b Greek Workers in FRG	c Assisted by the German Commission	d Percent c from b
1951-60	111.343	23.364	8.235	35.2
1961-70	563.992	482.873	321.184	66.5
1971-73	86.769	77.987	51.897	66.5

Source: BUNDESANSTALT FOR ARBEIT, various years; SIAMPOS, 1980, 250.

According to this data, during the main migration period from 1960 to 1973 about two thirds of the labor migrants to Germany were picked by the German Commission; the remaining third found their jobs alone or with the help of friends or family members who already were working in the FRG (the so-called chain migration). As has been mentioned above, probably the majority of the self-made migrants belong to the group of relatively skilled workers.

So far, there is no research on the details of the work and the impact of the German Commissions, neither for Greece nor for the other sending countries. The main criteria according to which the prospective workers were picked were:

- the fit between the needs of the German employers and the characteristics of the applicants
- health condition of the applicants
- occupational training and specialization of the applicants
- education of the applicants (e.g. no illiterates (57)).

Although more research is needed on this topic, the work of the German Commission can be seen as one of the factors contributing to the results presented above: the positive selection of the migrants according to occupation (chapter

5.2.1) and education (chapter 5.2.2). In addition, the work of the Commission probably resulted in a positive selection in terms of health conditions. Strong arguments cannot be put forward though, because nothing is known so far either about the selection ratio, that is, how many applicants were successfully discouraged from migration because of the council of the Commission, or about the base rate (58), that is, the distribution of the respective variables in the population.

5.5 Remigration effects

As the last possible selective process, remigration from Germany to Greece has to be analyzed. The quantitiy of remigrants from the FRG is high (about 50% of the migrants) and in the case that persons with special characteristics were more likely to go back to the home country, the characteristics of the group remaining in the target country would become differently distributed too.

Concerning age, the data available shows only a small deviation of the age structure of the remigrants from the total group of migrants: The proportion of remigrants was higher for persons of higher age (59). But the effect is by far not as large as it is for remigrants from overseas countries from where there is a more substantial return at the age of retirement.

In his study on remigration, CERASE, 1972, distinguishes between 4 types of remigration: return of failure, return of

conservatism, return of innovation, and return of retirement (60). Taking over this division, in a case study on the remigrants of one county (Nomos) in Northern Greece, LUTKENS, 1981, comes to the conclusion (61) that the first group contains about a quarter of the remigrants, that the second group is represented by much more than 50%, the third group is small, and the fourth group, 'returnees of retirement', is nearly not represented.

From results like this it is rather difficult to judge on the selectiveness of the remigration process. Only the group of the 'remigrants of failure' could be taken as an indicator of a selective process; but nothing is known about the size of this group (nor the other groups) in the host country. On the other hand, according to these results it seems to be rather plausible that the remigrants are not a group which has been successful above average in the target country.

Indirect evidence stems from 3 representative studies on migrant workers in Germany. According to this data (62), Greek workers in the FRG had at least finished primary education or had finished vocational training at home to the following percentages:

Table 9: Greek migrant workers in the FRG according to educational level reached in Greece, in percent.

Year	Finished Primary Education	Finished Vocational Training
1972	64	20
1976	76	23

1978	86	28

Sources: BUNDESANSTALT FOR ARBEIT, 1972, p. 11, 28, 45; MARPLAN 1976 and 1978.

There is a clear trend towards an increasing proportion of the migrants with more education or vocational training. It can be argued that the groups of remigrants included a comparatively higher proportion of less educated and less well trained persons who had run into difficulties (like unemployment) in Germany to a larger extent or who might have run into problems if they had stayed; with the effect that the proportions of the better educated staying in Germany have increased.

Additional information comes from other sources (e.g. FATOUROU et al., 1984 (63)), which are not going to be discussed here in detail.

The fact that the children of remigrants usually encounter enormous difficulties in the schools of their home country may not be interpreted as an indicator of a negative select remigration, because it has to be attributed primarily to other factors which are stronger than the selectiveness of remigration possibly could be.

5.6 Concluding remarks on the selectiveness of migration

To sum up, the following results have been obtained. Greek migrants in the FRG can be characterized

- as relatively young (chapter 5.1);

- to a comparatively high percentage as economically active persons (chapter 5.2.1);
- to a high proportion as persons who, although they have been farmers and workers before migration, were predominantly farm owners, not farm workers, and skilled workers;
- as having a higher level of education and less illiteracy (chapter 5.2.2);
- as stemming to a comparatively high percentage from the subpopulation of Minor Asia refugees who are considered a positive group in terms of occupation and education (chapter 5.3);
- two thirds of them as having been directly selected by the German Commission (chapter 5.4);
- as having the tendency to be more successful migrants who stayed in Germany and did not join the slightly negative select group of remigrants (chapter 5.5).

Since all the evidence points into the same direction, it might be concluded with some confidence that the Greek migrants in the FRG are a positive select group in comparison to the Greek population at large in respect to variables which, under normal conditions, are related to school success of the following generation.

6. Development of the migrants' achievements in Germany

As has been pointed out, there are good reasons to believe that the Greek migrants to the FRG are an above average group as compared to the population at large in the home country. Now the question focusses on what has happened after migration. Did the competences of the migrants manifest themselves in their performance?

The main focus in this paper is the school performance of the migrants' children in German schools. But before analyzing the information on this topic, a few words must be said about the achievements of the parent generation itself.

6.1 The parent generation

One of the arguments for starting this research was the observation that the migrants' children are - erroneously - classified as lower class children because of the lower class jobs their parents usually have in Germany; a fact which has resulted in many negative consequences for the children in the schools (64).

But as far as the judgment about the parent generation is concerned, the occupational classification certainly is correct. According to the figures of the BUNDESANSTALT FÜR ARBEIT, 1972 and 1978 (65) and to DIMITRAS and VLACHOS, 1971, 88, the Greek workers, similar to all migrant workers from recruitment countries, were occupied mainly as workers

in the manufacturing sector to 90.3% (1964), 83.4% (1972), and 79% (1977).

From this data it is evident that it is correct to subsume the migrant workers in Germany into the lower class. As has been pointed out, it is questionable to classify them as lower class when the comparison is made in the context of the sending country. To be sure, there has been considerable upwards mobility in terms of occupational status within the last two decades in Germany, but even now the distribution of the migrant workers on the occupational status scale still is much more on the lower end than that of the indigenous population.

6.2 The school achievements of the migrants' children

One of the best indicators of school success in a selective school system like the German is the proportion of students visiting the positive select school types (Realschule and Gymnasium). As has been pointed out above (chapter 2), the distribution of all foreign children on the various secondary schools is very different from that of the German children, the migrants' children being to a much higher percentage in the secondary modern school (Hauptschule).

Since these figures refer to the entire group of the foreign children, considerable variation is concealed. It has been firmly established for example that the distribution on the secondary schools correlates with length of stay in Germany. Since length of stay is different for different

nationalities - the Turks coming most recently - , figures across nations do not make much sense. Although it was extremely difficult to obtain or compute even approximate data for only one nation over a longer time period, the following results have been obtained.

A first rough impression of the development in the last few years in the FRG can be got from the following table:

Table 10: Greek students aged 10 to 18 years in German secondary schools, 1976 and 1982, in thousands.

	1976		1982	
	abs.	%	abs.	%
Hauptschule (and Sondersch.)	29.9	60.4	30.4	60.2
Realschule	1.7	3.4	2.5	4.9
Gesamtschule	1.8	3.6	2.1	4.2
Gymnasium	4.8	9.7	8.5	16.8
Other (vocational etc.)	11.3	22.8	7	13.9
Age group	49.5	100	50.5	100

Source: Special computation from Mikrozensus 1976 and 1982.

Although the table covers only a few years, the general trend nevertheless is evident, namely a considerable increase in the percentage of Greek students going to the Gymnasium. This seems to be achieved mainly through the corresponding change in the percentage of students going to other types of secondary schools; this also means that more students obtain fulltime schooling (instead of one day per week as in most vocational schools) (66).

The main problems with this data is a) that it goes back to 1976 only - the very different figures of the sixties would

make the trend much clearer; and b) that the enormous differences between the 11 German States are concealed. This is even more so since the inequalities between the States have always been pronounced; the changes in the educational politics have not been synchronous either. In order to find out about the development of the success of the migrants' children in school, the best way to proceed is to look at the data of the single States and to go back in time as far as the data permit. It is important to keep in mind that the best results which can be shown in any of the Länder has to be considered as the minimum achievement possible: Since there seems to be no selective settlement of the migrants within Germany (67), the results being below the highest figures found anywhere have to be considered as a deficiency in the educational opportunities offered to the students everywhere else.

Some rough figures were obtained by special request from the Statistical Service of Hessen. The data are as follows:

Table 11: Greek students in the schools of Hessen, 1970 and 1983/84

Schooltype	1970/71	%	1983/84	%
Grundschule	(2.802)	(96.1)	1.837	42.6
Hauptschule	( )	( )	727	16.9
Realschule	29	1.0	338	7.8
Sonderschule	26	0.9	117	2.7
Gymnasium	53	1.8	497	11.5
Gesamtschule	6	0.2	239	5.5
Förderstufe			554	12.9
Total	2.916	100	4.309	100

Source: Special data upon request from the Statistical Service, Wiesbaden

Two things are of interest here: The tremendous change within the 13 years covered (e.g. the proportion of students going to the Gymnasium in 1983 is about six times as high as in 1970, and about 8 times for the Realschule). Second, the proportions of students going to the Hauptschule and the Gymnasium are much closer to each other in 1983/84 than in 1970/71. When only the secondary level students (Gymnasium, Gesamtschule, Realschule and Hauptschule) are used as the total, 27.6% go to the Gymnasium, 13.3% to the Gesamtschule, 18.8% to the Realschule, and 40.4% to the Hauptschule. This distribution is not very far from the distribution of the German students in 1983/84 although there were striking differences in 1970.

For Bavaria, the full figures can not be presented here. They show, among other things, an increasing proportion of Greek students in the Gymnasium from 0.9% in 1966 to 17.7% in 1984. Accordingly, the percentages in the Hauptschule decrease from close to 90% in 1966 to 71.3% in 1984. Similar to the situation in all Germany, the proportions going to the vocational schools decrease (from about 15% in 1969 to 8.7% in 1984).

The situation in West Berlin is of particular interest because it can be assumed that the chances for migrant children to visit the school type they prefer are better there than in one of the Länder with often large distances between home and school (68). In addition, because of its political situation, Berlin has no suburbs far from the center; all secondary schools are in principle within reach

for all secondary students. Therefore, Berlin might be considered as a niche where fewer factors are interfering with the development of school attainments than in other places. The figures for the whole population (Germans and aliens) look as follows:

Table 12: Transfer from primary to secondary schools in Berlin West, 1971 to 1983, in percent. All students.

	Hauptsch.	Realsch.	Gymnas.	Gesamtsch.
1971	35.7	29.9	31.0	3.4
1972	29.0	26.8	34.3	9.9
1973	25.5	23.2	32.8	18.5
1974	22.3	21.3	30.7	25.7
1975	22.9	22.4	29.9	24.8
1976	21.1	23.1	31.3	24.5
1977	18.9	23.5	33.3	24.3
1978	16.1	23.1	36.2	24.6
1979	15.0	24.4	37.0	23.6
1980	16.3	23.6	35.1	25.0
1981	15.8	23.9	34.9	25.4
1982	14.7	23.6	34.7	27.0
1983	13.7	23.0	35.1	28.2

Source: Der Senator für Schulwesen, Berufsbildung und Sport, Information für die Lehrkräfte ausländischer Schüler, 2/85, p. 8.

There are two massive trends: The diminishing proportions of students going to the (negative select) Hauptschule, and the increasing number of students going to the Comprehensives. Although these schools have been established with the aim of catering for the whole population, they by now have a majority of students recommended for the Hauptschule or the Realschule. The percentages in the Gymnasium have only slightly increased in the time period described; they have considerably increased in comparison to the percentages in the sixties.

Again one runs into difficulties when searching for comparable data for the Greek students. There is no safe way of constructing a table identical with the one given above, since there does not exist a separate account according nationality. But the following figures for the whole group of Greek students visiting the different secondary schools nevertheless give a very clear picture of the developments:

<<<<< insert table 13 here >>>>>

As has been mentioned above, the data are not strictly comparable. But the inherent inaccuracy runs against the results predicted, because more students get the recommendation of going to a Realschule or Gymnasium than finally end up in these schools or stay there for many years. On the other hand, the basis for the figures in table 12 includes the newcomer migrant nations, particularly the Turks.

Even if the inherent errors are taken into account, the picture is striking: The Greek students, under comparatively good conditions of schooling, in the last years reach or even surpass the quota of the over all - mainly German - population in the positive select schools (the Realschule and the Gymnasium). In addition, a sizeable proportion of those going to the Gesamtschule can be supposed to belong either to the students fitting to the Realschule or to the Gymnasium, since more foreign children seem to use the chances offered by the comprehensive school for a late

transfer to the academic upper stage of secondary education or for a final examination equivalent to the finals of the Realschule.

As a further argument showing that the figures presented are rather a conservative estimate, it should be kept in mind that a sizeable proportion of the Greeks (probably about a third after allowing for the repeated migration of the same persons, see chapters 5.1 and 5.5) are exchanged over the years. This means that quite a few students have come to Germany anew and had to start their school career from the beginning, while others had to go back although they may have been adapted quite well and would have increased the proportion of the successful students (69). Finally, a small proportion of Greek students go to Greek secondary schools in the FRG, particularly at the upper stage. They are not included in the tables presented above; they would have increased the proportion of the successful pupils (70).

Since there are no reasons to believe in a regionally selective migration of the Greek migrants within Germany, it can be concluded that the school achievements of the group under discussion, according to the criterion used here, are already similar to the achievements of the indigenous population in Berlin; they could become equally similar everywhere, provided the conditions of school learning permit the unfolding of the competencies of the students. Second, since the proportions going to the positive select schools are still increasing in Berlin, there is reason to believe that the ceiling has not been reached yet - a

plausible assumption regarding the relatively short time period these migrants live in Germany. Consequently, I can risk the prediction with some confidence, that in about 10 to 15 years the Greek students will, on the average, surpass the average of the German students concerning school achievement as defined here - provided there are no massive disturbing factors. In any case, on the basis of this data the hypothesis that the migrants are a positive select group receives some important additional confirmation. It must be added though that some part of the effect observed might be due to the possibly selective remigration (see above chapter 5.5).

7. Concluding remarks

The data discussed makes it plausible to assume that the Greek migrants are a positive select group as compared to the population of the sending country. They are people who, according to the criteria of their country of origin, belong to social classes which cannot be compared to the German lower class. For them, labor migration on the average resulted in a sharp drop in the social position in the country of destination; but educational aspirations and other factors which are relevant for school success of their children in German schools did not change accordingly. Not unexpectedly, their children show clear trends towards reaching the school achievements of their German peers on average. In other words, they are beginning to function on a cognitive niveau which could have been expected from them

(as extrapolated from their parents' attributes) had they attended the schools in their country of origin. It is predicted that in the long run even a superior performance will be observed - provided other factors do not disturb the development. On the other hand, particularly in the early years of migration, as well as today, many thousands of migrant children are either not visiting the best fitting school type or have left German schools without reaching the level of academic achievement which they would have been capable of reaching under the normal developmental conditions. Even the most positive of the figures presented show the minimum, not the maximum, potential of these students.

The question of generalizability of these results over nations can not be answered here; it should have become clear that the migration histories are fairly "individual" processes per nation. Nevertheless, during the search for the data presented here some informations were obtained concerning migrants from other recruitment countries. From them it seemed reasonable to conclude that grosso modo the situation of other nations is not dissimilar to the one described for the Greeks; although for different reasons. Some preliminary hints will be given below.

As far as the Turks (as the by far biggest group on migrant workers in the FRG) are concerned, the German Commission in Turkey apparently was very effective indeed in the sense of picking a particularly high proportion of skilled workers as compared to the Turkish population (71).

Concerning the Yugoslavs, similar developments as for the Greeks can be observed in Berlin. According to official sources (72) the percentages visiting a Gymnasium increased from 6.6% in 1975 to 28.6% in 1983. For the Turks, the figures are 2.4% and 10.7% respectively; they might be in the situation in which the Greeks have been in the early seventies (see above). The importance of length of stay becomes particularly evident from the comparison between Turks and other nations.

The most important factor which could invalidate the prediction of future above-average school success of the Greek students has to be seen in the conditions of school learning (including the very different educational systems of the States for the migrants' children). If the learning conditions are not improved further, the chances for foreign children to develop according to their abilities and aptitudes are small. This is particularly true for the school conditions in rural areas. Maybe an improvement of the situation could already be achieved if the teachers, the school adiministration, the peer students, and the parents would know about the pool of hidden talents among the alien students. At the moment, the situation as presented in this paper is unknown to most of the people working with (or doing research on) the migrant children. As has been said above, the constantly increasing percentages of the migrants' children being transferred to the special schools is probably, to some extent at least, a consequence of the traditional underestimation of the competencies of these

children who all too often come from unskilled workers' families (in Germany) (73). Second, flexible systems like comprehensive schools would be beneficial for children who often do not even have a full command of the language of the classroom yet; therefore they need time for development; early selection as is necessarily the case in the German tripartite secondary school system will be detrimental. If the school situation is less than optimal, more time will be needed before the students can manifest their capacities.

A disturbing factor may develop, particularly for the Greeks, from the free labor market (as a corrolary of the new membership of Greece to the European Common Market). The reason for this skeptical view stems from experiences with the Italian migrants who, as longtime EC-members, have the right of free movement between the countries in order to find labor. This has resulted in a family shuttling behavior: Parents and children go back home for a few years, try to start a business or to find work, move back to Germany for some time, etc.. For the children this means a frequent change between very different schools, between languages, value systems etc.. The fact that the Italian children have by far the highest proportion of children in the special schools is probably a result of the migration behavior of their parents. The difficulties Greek remigrant children experience in the schools at home (74) give an impression of what has to be expected from a frequent change of schools.

Other possible reasons might be seen in the demotivating effects of labor shortage in Germany, particularly for the young adults. Legal handicaps for getting a job as a foreigner deteriorate the situation further.

Finally, it might be speculated that the coming "third generation" of the migrants might adapt so closely to the value system of their German peers that they refuse to take over the high educational aspiration of the root family. This development - close adaptation to the indigenous people - has often been described for the second, not the third, generation of US-immigrants (75); this might be taken as one example of the many dissimilarities between the migration process in Europe and the immigration process in the US. But there seem to be similarities too, last not least the selectiveness of many immigration waves.

8. Notes (see bibliography)

Acknowledgements

I wish to express my gratitude to LUITGARD TROMMER from the Max-Planck-Institute for helping to obtain statistical information in the FRG; Dr. G.S. SIAMPOS of NSSG for his help in tracing Greek population statistics; P.M.ROE DER for his useful comments.

(1) See DER BUNDESMINISTER FÜR BILDUNG UND WISSENSCHAFT, Grund- und Strukturdaten 1985/86, p.244-245. For comprehensive statistics on foreigners in the FRG see TROMMER and KÖHLER, 1981 and 1984.

(2) STATISTISCHES LANDESAMT BERLIN II A 82/100

(3) Computed from Grund- und Strukturdaten 1985/86, p.68 and 70.

(4) BAUMERT, 1985 (unpublished paper of the Max-Planck-Institute), in a recent survey on headmasters' opinions and experiences, obtained the following results. When asked about the prevailing conditions for school achievement on the students' side, for schools with relatively high proportions of foreign children the answers of the headmasters were as follows:
- Primary school: negative
- Hauptschule: indifferent (positive in Hamburg and Berlin)
- Realschule: positive
- Gymnasium: indifferent.

Only in the Realschule the migrant children seem to be perceived as a positive factor; the other secondary schools, even the Hauptschule, are indifferent, and the primary school headmasters, who have the whole bandwidth of abilities and aptitudes among their clientel, have a negative opinion.

Another example comes from Baden-Württemberg where officials in the school administration are explicitly astonished that the migrants' children go to the positive select secondary schools to a higher percentage than could be expected from the social status of their families. See MINISTERIUM FÜR KULTUS UND SPORT BADEN WÜRTTEMBERG (Hg.), Schulbesuch und Schulverlauf ausländischer Kinder in Baden-Württemberg, Stuttgart 1981 (Reihe C, Heft 3), p. 12.

(5) Although many criteria of social inequality in the German education system (like religion, sex, region) are not valid any more or have become smaller because of measures taken for improving the situation, social class in 1986 is still nearly as highly correlated with school success as

this was true 20 or more years ago. S ee ROLFF et al., 1980 and 1984.

(6) HOPF, 1981

(7) See also HUMMEL, H.J., 1972, on this kind of wrong ecological inference (ökologischer Fehlschluß).

(8) In Europe, remigration is an important factor. Germany officially is not considered to be an immigration country, and the labour migrants usually intend to go back after collecting enough money for starting something new at home. Although this happens less often than planned, at certain time periods there is a quantitatively considerable remigration movement.

(9) See OECD, 1980, p.35

(10) Computed from NSSG, Statistics in Education 1979/80, p. 123.

(11) LAMBIRI-DIMAKI, 1983, POLYDORIDES, 1978, KAKALOS, 1981, MYLONAS, 1982.

(12) For a more detailed account see e.g. NSSG, Yearbook 1964, p. 393 ff. See also the internal papers for coding the census questionnaires of the NSSG.

(13) Personal communication by Dr. SIAMPOS, Athens. Reports on the validity of this variable (e.g. OECD, 1980. p. 158, on the correlation of lenght of education and income) are questionable.

(14) In some studies the division of occupations into two groups only has proved to be useful. See e.g. WAGNER, 1982, p.80.

(15) It is not the place here to go into the vividly discussed problems of socio-structural socialization research. For a thorough and methodologically oriented approach see e.g. BERTRAM, Hans, Probleme einer sozialstrukturell orientierten Sozialforschung. In: Zeitschrift für Soziologie, Jg.5, Heft 2, 1976, p. 103-117.

(16) See also LAMBIRI-DIMAKI, 1983, p. 229. The social stratification approach of Lambiri-Dimaki is much closer to the bulk of the empirical sociological research in Western societies and therefore more useful for the purpose of this paper than the discussion of this subject for example in MOUZELIS, 1978, which is of high interest from other points of view. A similar approach is used also in German research on the migrant workers, see e.g. MEHRLÄNDER, 1978, 47f.

(17) Computed from NSSG, Statistics of Education 1979/80, Athens 1983, p. 322.

(18) As of census 1981, computed from NSSG, Yearbook 1983, 67. It is important to note that the coding of the newest Greek census data (1981) has been done in a way which does not allow to analyze families. For example, the data of the father in a household are separately coded from the data of his son or daughter, and there is no way of putting the data together again (information given by Dr. SIAMPOS from the NSSG in April 1985). The between-generation information given above stems from other sources than the 1981 census.

(19) Computed from NSSG, Statistics of Education 1979/80, p. 331.

(20) Computed from NSSG, Yearbook 1983, p. 103.

(21) Evidence on this phenomenon is also found in chapter 4.3.

(22) See relevant NSSG statistics; OECD, 1980, p.121. Different figures because of different sample definitions are given by the World Bank, World Atlas of the Child; see OECD, 1980. p. 122, table 2.93. The most recent data are approximations computed from NSSG, Statistical Yearbook of Greece 1983, p.32 and 116.

(23) Computed from NSSG, Statistics in Education 1979/80, p.123.

(24) See OECD, 1980. p. 123, table 2.86., and p. 124, table 2.87.

(25) See NSSG, Population Census 1961, Vol. II, p.29-30; Population Census 1971, Vol. I, p.22, Yearbook 1983, p.67. See also OECD, 1980, p.51 and 56; KAKALOS, 1981, p. 28f.

(26) KAKALOS, 1981, p.23.

(27) See e.g. ALBRECHT, GÜNTER, Soziologie der geographischen Mobilität. Zugleich ein Beitrag zur Soziologie des sozialen Wandels, Stuttgart 1972, p. 44 f. Also see HARBACH, 1976, 64 and 155 - 160.

(28) GECK, 1979, has pointed out the problems of data quality of the Greek sources on migration. They are particularly pronounced during the dictatorship (Junta, 1967-74), but relevant also in other time periods. The German data are unreliable to a lesser degree. The main problem here is the lack of coordination between the 12 Bundesländer. For example, if a migrant worker goes from Bavaria to Baden-Württemberg, the statistics (of Bavaria) list him as one of the persons who have left the country (Germany).

(29) See GECK, 1979, p. 29, footnote 3.

(30) Similar in tendency are the data presented by KASIMATI, 1984, 25. Since she includes females, the figures

are less pronounced as far as the proportion of active versus non-active persons is concerned. - In the study of MEHRLÄNDER, U., 1969, 24, the following figures were obtained:

Occupation of Greek migrants in the FRG before migration (in percent of those who were economically active before migration)

economic activity	% males
agriculture, fishing, livestock	34.5
mining, energy	5.2
metal work	3.5
manufacturing	22.3
construction	6.9
banking, insurance, trade	5.2
services	6.9
transport, communication	13.8
public sector	1.7

Source: MEHRLÄNDER, U., Die Beschäftigung ausländischer Arbeitnehmer in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland unter spezieller Berücksichtigung von Nordrhein-Westfalen. Köln/Opladen, 1969, 24.

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(31) GECK, 1979, 152, points out that about 20% of the migrants had finished occupational training before migration. The lack of comparable population data makes an interpretation difficult though.

(32) GECK's interpretation of the available data seems to be more adequate than LUETKENS', 1981, 67 f, who denies the reliability of the data altogether. Astonishingly enough, LUETKENS does not mention GECK at all.

(33) LIANOS, T.P., Exportation of labour from Greece. Athens 1976 (mimeo), p.6 f.

(34) See GREEK MINISTRY OF LABOUR, The Greeks in West Germany, Athens 1977, p. 14 (in Greek)

(35) See below chapter 5.4. Also BUNDESANSTALT FÜR ARBEIT, Erfahrungsbericht 1972/73, p. 114, on the degree of participation in electing migrants ("Einschaltungsgrad").

(36) BUNDESANSTALT FÜR ARBEIT, Repräsentativuntersuchung 1972, p. 11 and 45; see GECK, 1979, p.152 f.

(37) See SJOLLEMA, 1965, 18. Quoted from HARBACH, 1976, 192.

(38) See HARBACH, 1976, 190 ff.

(39) BUNDESANSTALT FÜR ARBEIT, Repräsentativuntersuchung 1972. Beschäftigung ausländischer Arbeitnehmer, Nürnberg 1973, 28.

(40) See HOPF, 1984.

(41) BÖHNING, W.R., The social and occupational apprenticeship of Mediterranean migrant workers in West Germany. In: M. LIVI BACCI (Hg.), The demographic and social patterns of emigration from the southern European countries. Firenze, 1972, p.175 - 259. This study refers to the year 1967. - The highest figures come from GREEK MINISTRY OF LABOUR, The Greeks in West Germany, Athens 1977, p. 14 (in Greek); it refers to the migration years 1970 to 1973. - See also GECK, 1979, 147 ff. - The figures of KASIMATI, 1984, 27, which go back to a study of the social science research institution (EKKE) puplished 1972, presents the following percentages of migrants by level of education:

	1964	1965
<u>males</u>		
illiterates	2.2	1.0
primary school	89.0	90.2
technical school	2.1	1.6
secondary school	6.5	6.9
higher education	0.2	0.3
<u>females</u>		
illiterates	7.7	5.6
primary school	87.8	91.3
technical school	0.4	0.1
secondary school	4.0	2.9
higher education	0.1	0.1

Source: KASIMATI, 1984, 27.

(42) See BUNDESANSTALT FÜR ARBEIT, 1973, 27. There were 4% male and 7% female illiterates, as compared to 6% and 21% in the population census 1971.

(43) For an overview see the informations in LUETKENS, GECK, WEISHAUPT.

(44) The argument has been put forward that migrants tend to consider migration as more advantageous the better educated they are. See e.g. R.P.SHAW, Migration Theory and Fact: A Review and Bibliography of Current Literature. Philadelphia 1975, p. 22 ff.

(45) For a good overview see HARBACH, 1976, 68.

(46) The population census of 1928 reports 1.221.892 refugees. 151.892 of them came to Greece immediately before the treaty of Lausanne. But the figures of the census 1928

are an underestimation because a) the refugees who died until 1928 are not included (newborns in Greece with refugee parents were not included in the number of refugees); b) quite a few people supposedly refused to admit that they were refugees because of anticipated disadvantages (oral comment of Dr. SIAMPOS, NSSG, 1985, who assumes an underestimation of about 80.000 for this reason alone). Interesting figures can also be found in the first special Census of refugees of April 1923 (which is supposed to be distorted too, particularly for reason b). See also SIAMPOS, G.S., The demographic development of modern Greece (1821 - 1985) (in Greek), Athens 1973, p. 75 f, for more comments. See also SIAMPOS, 1980, 252.

(47) See HUTCHINSON, E., PARAL, L., PRICE, CH., International migration policy: North America and Australia. IUSSP, Conference Liege, 1973.

(48) The lack of serious research makes it difficult to assess the reliability of those reports, but the fact that the same opinions were explicitly formulated in interviews with Greeks not stemming from refugee families gives them some trustworthiness.

(49) Computed from KALOUSSIS, 1934, 73. See also p. 80.

(50) See also KALOUSSIS, 1934, 83 ff.

(51) NSSG, Census 1928, Vol. II, table 23.

(52) According to the census of 1928, the following percentages for the larger regions were observed (Vol. I, Chapter IX, table 41):

	Number of refugees	Percent of inhabitants
Macedonia	638.253	45.2
Central Greece	306.193	19.2
West Trace	107.607	35.5
Aegean Islands	56.613	18.4

Source: NSSG, Census 1928, Vol.I, Chapter IX, Table 41

(53) See e.g. NSSG, Census 1928, Vol.II, table I, p.3, and table II, p. 369 (see also Table 3 and 23).

(54) See GECK, 1979, 29, Note 3.

(55) For 1962 see also LUETKENS, 1981, 210.

(56) Exact figures for the same time period as in column b were not available, but are similar to the figures given.

(57) See BUNDESANSTALT FÜR ARBEIT, 1973, 27.

(58) See TAYLOR, H.C., and RUSSELL, J.T., The relationship of validity coefficients to the practical effectiveness of

tests in selection: Discussion and tables. In: J.Appl.Psych. 23, 1939, 565-578. Also SCHRADER, W.B., A taxonomy of expectancy tables. In: J. Educ. Measurement, June 1965.

(59) See e.g. TROMMER, L. and KÖHLER, H., Ausländer in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. München 1981, p. 191, as compared to HERMANNS, H., Die Rückwanderung griechischer Gastarbeiter - Umfang, Verlauf und Probleme der Reintegration mit Beispielen aus dem Nomos Drama. In: Hellenika, Jahrbuch 1979, p. 130 - 138.

(60) CERASE, Francesco, Expectations and reality: A case study of return migration from the United States to Southern Italy. In: International Migration Review, Vol.8, 1972, p. 245-261.

(61) LUETKENS, 1981, 150 ff.

(62) Computed by GECK, 1979, 153, note 2.

(63) In: GOTOWOS, A., and MARKOU, G., 1984, 95. More information on this topic can also be found in GAITANIDES, 1983, 135.

(64) According to my opinion, one of the reasons for the still increasing proportions of migrant children in the special schools has to be seen in the misunderstanding mentioned. Since in all transfer and selection processes in our school system value judgements of the people who decide are involved, a widespread belief like this will result in reduced expectation concerning school success of these children. The low capability of the parents to resist against a transfer decision will be understood as additional proof for the correctness of the downgrading decision.

(65) For more details see GECK, 1979, 236.

(66) Some information can also be extracted from the following table:

Greek students in German schools, 1971 and 1982

	1971		1982	
	abs.	%	abs.	%
Grund- und Haupt-schulen.....	34.406	96.1	41.092	79.5
Special schools.....	391	1.1	1.559	3.0
Realschulen.....	371	1.0	3.200	6.2
Gymnasien.....	549	1.5	5.059	9.8
Comprehensive schools..	55	0.2	687	1.3
Other.....	17	0.1	79	0.2
Total.....	35.789	100.0	51.676	100.0

Source: TROMMER and KÖHLER, 1984, 30.

As can be seen, the proportion of the Greek students in the positive select secondary schools have multiplied within 11 years. But the figures contain at least two major problems: First, the enormous differences between the schooling conditions of the 11 Länder are concealed. Second, the proportion of the primary and secondary modern children is unknown (first row), since for historic reasons these schools are put into the same category; therefore there is no safe way of checking on the proportions in each school type and consequently no way of checking exactly on the change in the three major secondary school figures.

(67) According to the German population census of 1961, there are no pronounced differences between the occupations of the Greek migrant workers in the various Länder - as far as comparison is possible because of the size of the groups.

(68) According to research by my college Michael WAGNER from the Max-Planck-Institute there has been a considerable regional inequality in educational opportunity until 1971. In the meantime the situation has improved, but there are still differences mainly between the smaller regional units. See also ROLFF et al., 1984.

(69) Some additional evidence to this point can be found in PAPACHRISTOU, 1979, 43 ff.

(70) Very close to the figures given in table 22 are the following results reported by the Ministry of Education:

Greek students in West Berlin secondary schools, 1975/76 to 1983/84, in percent.

	N	Hauptsch.	Realsch.	Gymnas.	Gesamtsch.
1975	283	51.6	11.3	30.4	6.7
1976	282	43.6	15.2	32.3	8.9
1977	271	45.1	12.5	29.9	12.5
1978	281	35.9	16.0	31.0	17.1
1979	310	28.7	16.1	35.2	20.0
1980	390	30.8	17.4	31.5	20.3
1981	424	28.8	17.5	29.8	23.9
1982	444	23.6	19.4	34.7	22.3
1983	425	20.0	20.7	38.8	2o.5

Source: From: Der Senator für Schulwesen, Berufsbildung und Sport, Information für die Lehrkräfte ausländischer Schüler, 4/84, p. 13.

Figures on other nationals are also presented there.

(71) See NEUMANN, 1980, 75. Similar information is given by ABADAN-UNAT in her literature report on Turkish migration research, 1985, p. 76 (mimeo). According to her data, 38 % of the Turkish migrant workers who went to Germany are well trained workers or craftsmen. They also show a higher educational level. ABADAN-UNAT points out that besides the

German Commission the employers themselves have picked the workers they considered best. - These informations are discussed and accepted as highly probable from a theoretical point of view by NAUCK, 1985, 73 ff. Without presenting new empirical evidence, his conclusion from his synopsis of the literature is "daß insbesondere in wenig entwickelten Herkunftsgesellschaften wie der Türkei eine selektive Migration in der Weise erfolgt, daß die vergleichsweise gut ausgebildete städtische Bevölkerung mit gehobenen Berufspositionen am ehesten von Migrationsprozessen erfaßt wird" (p. 94).

(72) Der Senator für Schulwesen, Berufsbildung und Sport, Information für die Lehrkräfte ausländischer Schüler, 4/84, p. 13. - Concerning the Italians, different informations to the topic under discusssion can be found in MEHRLÄNDER, 1978, p. 57 f, 76 f, 98 f, 102.

(73) LEE, 1966, refers to a bimodal distribution of migrants, which comes about trough the positive selection of those who react to the positive factors of the target country, and a negative selection of those who react to the negative factors of the country they come from. - It is not the place here to discuss this hypothesis in detail, but it seems to be an inadequate description of the migration process between Greece and the FRG, probably also in the case of the other recruitment countries. There could be the argument that the migrants' children not only have relatively high proportions in the positiv select schools (as far as circumstances permit), but also high percentages in the special schools. But the enormous differences between the Länder in the proportion of the nationals who are transferred to the special schools (Baden-Württemberg being top) have to be interpreted in a similar way as has been done with the foreign students in the positiv select schools: the best result (i.e. the lowest percentage) has to be taken as the minimum performance possible when the learning conditions were acceptable. This means that the proportion of an age group going to special schools could be everywhere below the average figures for German children since figures like this do exist in some of the Länder. The situation becomes different when disturbing factors like the one described for the Italians become important. But these are other reasons than assumed by LEE (who by the way is referring to overseas migration which seems to be a different process). Again the necessity of distinguishing between nations and time periods becomes apparent. Nevertheless research on the reasons for the high (and still growing) special school rates of foreign nationals is urgently needed.

(74) See e.g. COLLAROS and MOUSSOUROU, 1978.

(75) See e.g. HARVARD ENCYCLOPEDIA OF AMERICAN ETHNIC GROUPS, 1980, passim.

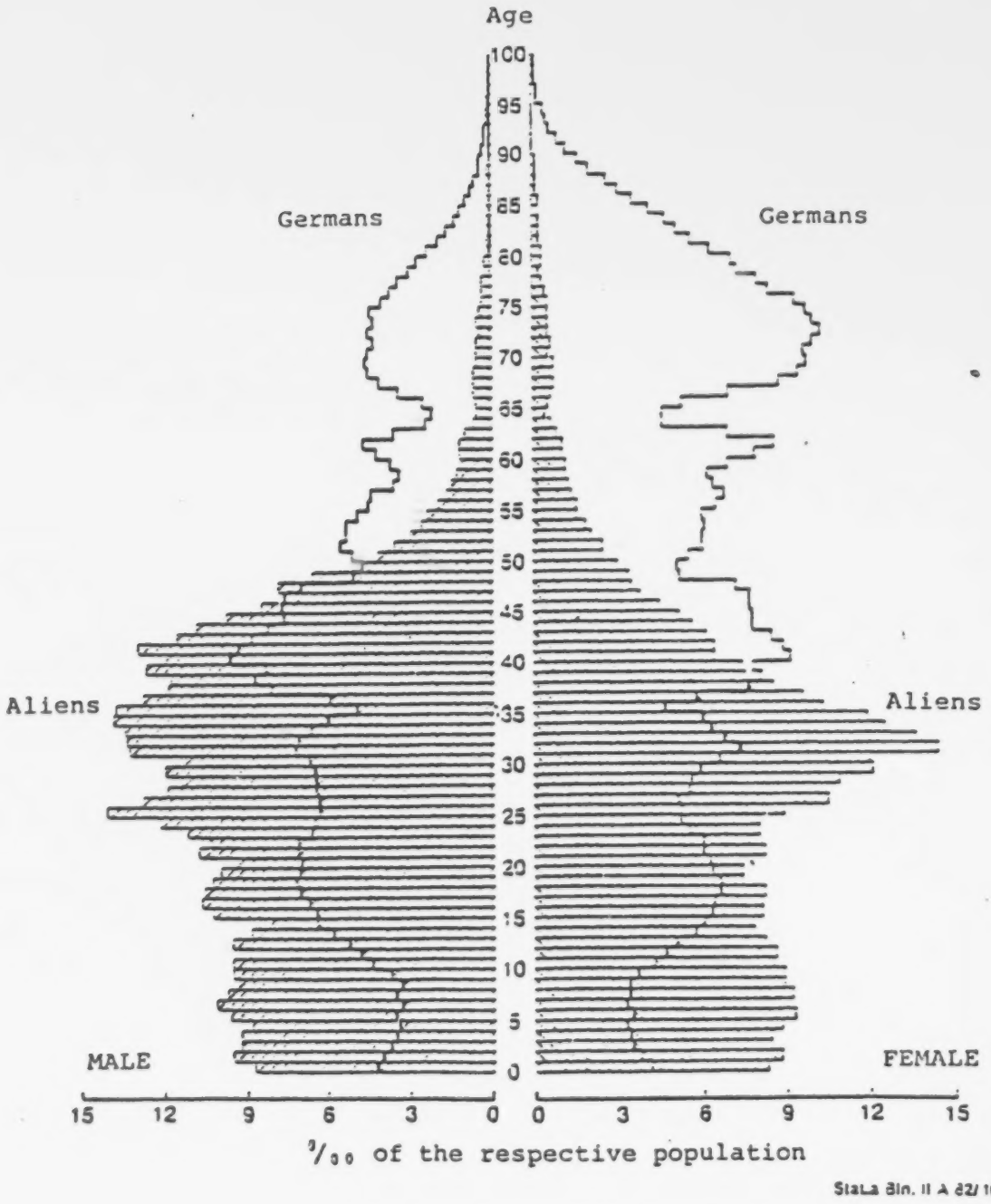

FIG. 1 — Age structure of the population of Berlin (West) as of January 1, 1982 (Germans/aliens).

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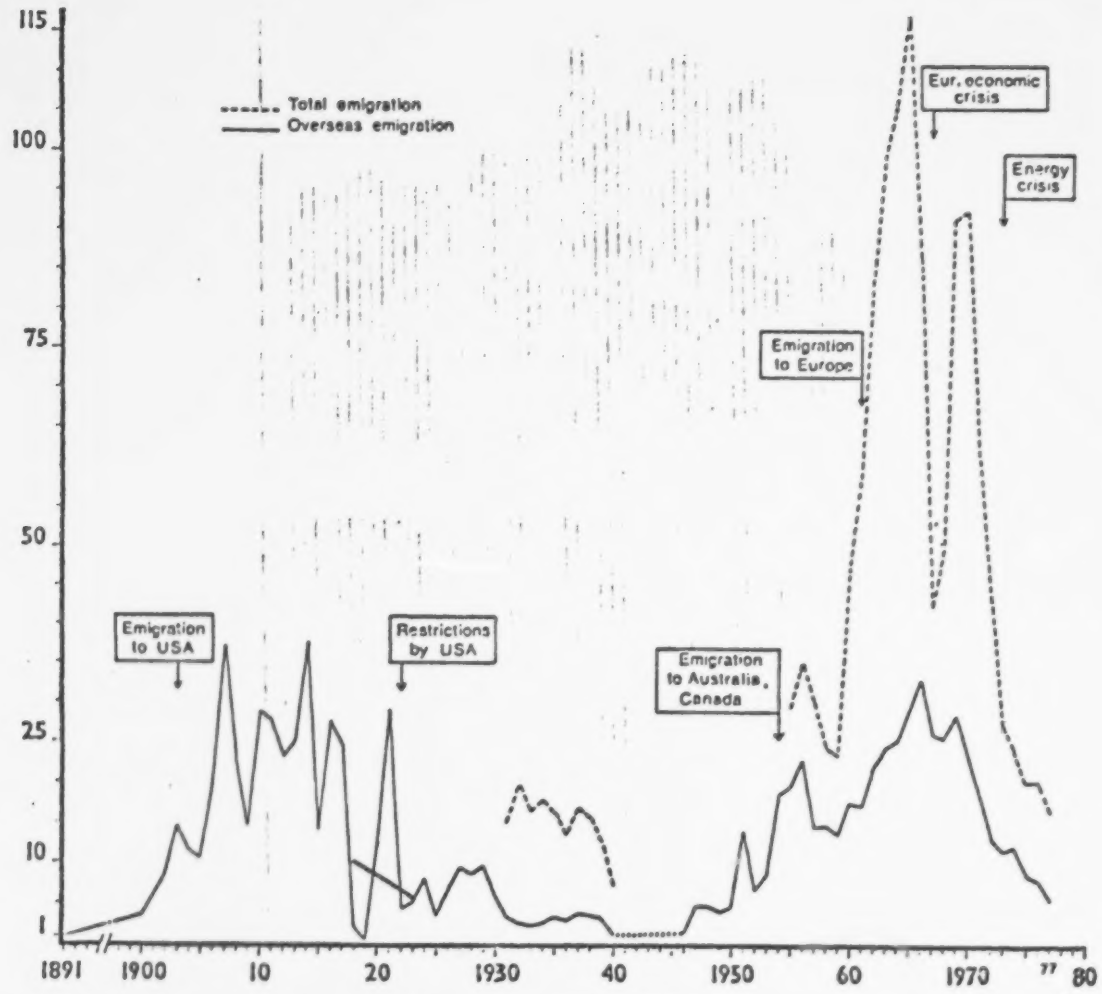
Figure 2: Emigration from Greece, 1891 - 1977 (+)



(+) Source: NSSG-data. See Siampos, 1980, 249

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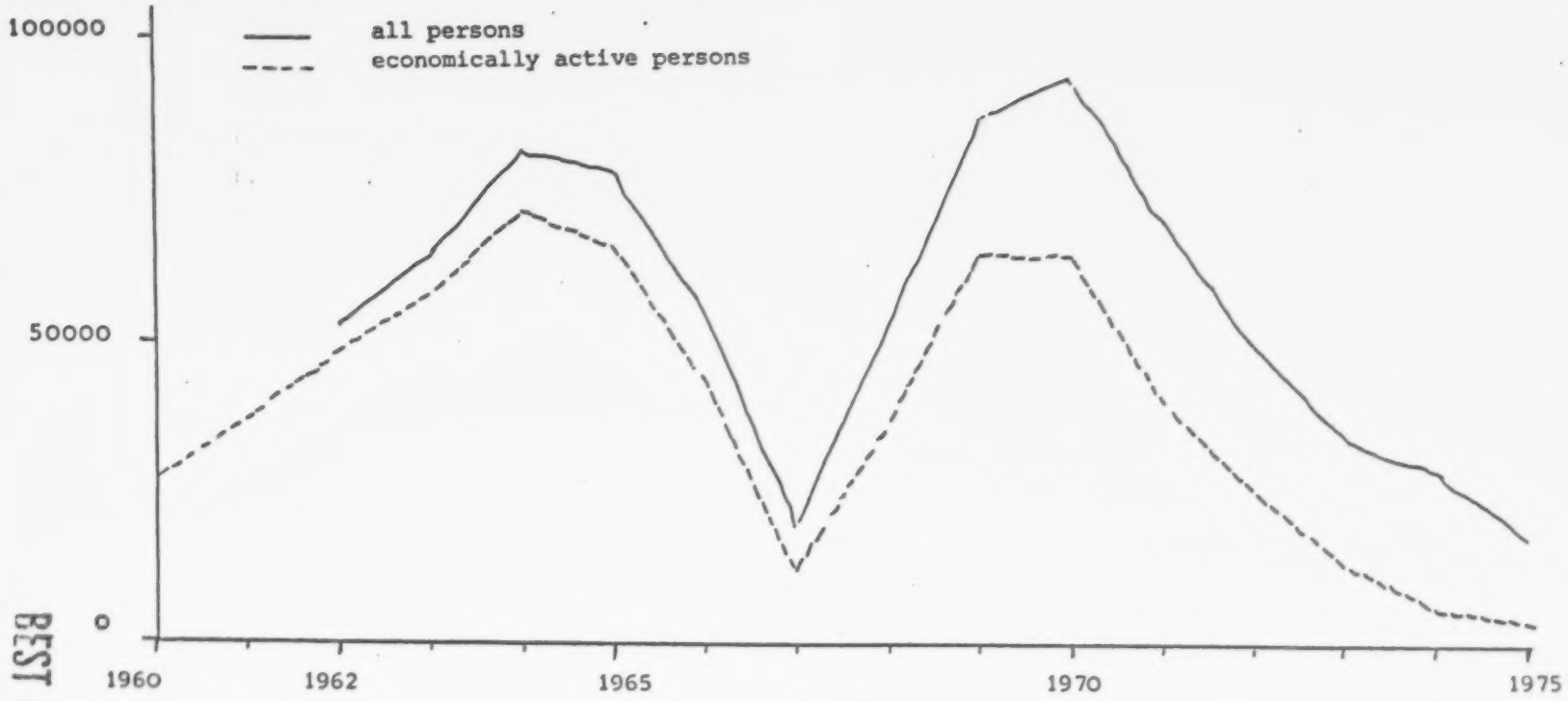
Figure 3: Yearly migration from Greece to the FRG, 1960 - 1975 (+)



(+) Adapted from GECK, 1979, 27

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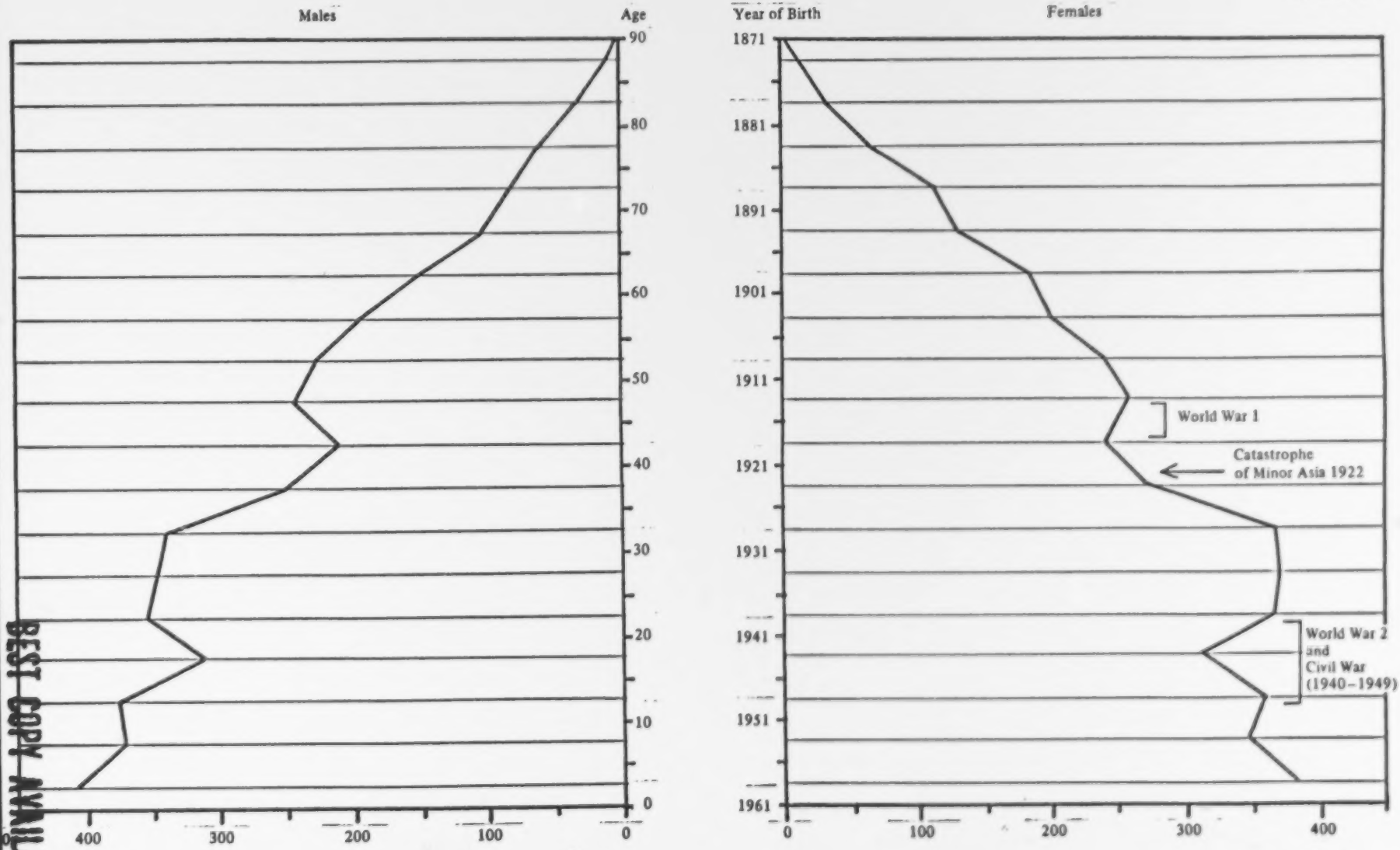
Figure 4: Greek Population Census 1961



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T A B L E 2 - Total number of German and foreign school students at general educational schools in the secondary stages I and II, school year 1984/85 ✱

1.	Secondary Modern	Secondary Technical	Grammar	Compre-hensive	Total
2. German Pupils	1.266.394	1.086.802	1.798.080	188.250	4.339.527
3. % of Total	29.2	25.1	41.4	4.3	100
4. Foreign Pupils +	177.177	36.406	29.368	25.247	268.198
5. % of Total of Foreign Children +	66.1	13.6	10.9	9.4	100

✱ Source: Kultusministerkonferenz, Dokumentation Nr. 93 and 94, Bonn, July/August 1985

\+ from recruitment countries

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TABLE 3 - Economically active population by educational level and groups of individual occupations, in percent +)

Groups of individual occupations	Total	With diploma of higher education schools	With certificate of intermediate school	Graduated high school	Graduated elementary school	Have not finished elementary school	Have not declared educational level
Total	3.543.797 = 100 %	264.871 = 100 %	119.371 = 100 %	634.997 = 100 %	1.942.357 = 100 %	575.674 = 100 %	6.527 = 100 %
Professional, technical and related workers	9.4	66.2	67.8	6.6	1.6	0.4	4.3
Administrative, executive and managerial workers	1.7	8.5	2.5	3.7	0.6	0.2	5.3
Clerical and related workers	9.5	10.3	9.3	37.9	2.8	0.5	8.6
Tradesmen and sales workers	8.5	3.5	2.8	14.9	8.6	4.6	5.0
Service workers	7.8	4.4	3.0	8.3	8.8	6.8	15.0
Farmers, loggers and related workers	27.5	0.3	0.7	3.2	30.7	61.5	16.2
Craftsmen and labourers (not in agriculture) and operators of transport means	31.6	0.8	8.3	17.4	44.0	24.5	23.2
Workers not classifiable by occupation ++)	1.5	1.4	1.5	1.9	1.4	1.3	18.9
New	2.5	4.5	4.1	6.2	1.6	0.3	3.7

+) Computed from NSSG, Statistical Yearbook of Greece 1983, p. 67.

++) Including persons not declaring occupation.

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Table 5: Economically non-active and active Greek male population and male emigrants by major groups of individual occupations (+)

	Greek males		Male emigrants from Greece						
	1971	%	1961-65	%	1966-70	%	1971-75	%	1961-75 %
Total	4.286.748	100	277.510	100	197.654	100	92.225	100	100
economically non-active	1.984.236	46.3	39.908	14.4	44.384	22.5	27.171	29.5	22.1
economically active (++)	2.302.512	53.7	237.602	85.6	153.270	77.5	65.054	70.5	77.9
Groups of occupations									
Total	2.302.512	100	237.602	100	153.270	100	65.054	100	100
professional, technical, administrative, managerial, clerical workers	300.464	13.0	10.474	4.4	7.617	5.0	4.748	7.3	5.6
tradesmen, sales and service workers	341.408	14.8	7.434	3.1	6.991	4.6	3.713	5.7	4.5
Farmers, loggers etc.	835.420	36.3	72.751	30.6	88.044	57.4	31.665	48.7	45.6
Craftsmen, labourers, transport	825.220	35.8	146.943	61.8	50.623	33.0	24.928	38.3	44.4

(+) Computed from NSSG, Statistical Yearbook of Greece, various years. See also GECK, 1979, p. 233

(++) Without workers not classifiable by occupation

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Table 13: Greek students in West Berlin
Secondary Schools 1971 - 1983

	Secondary Modern	%	Secondary Technical	%	Grammar	%	Comprehensive	%	Total	%
1971	153	79,7	13	6,8	20	10,4	6	3,1	192	100
1972	140	67,6	24	11,6	27	13,1	16	7,7	207	100
1973	219	65,6	46	13,8	49	14,6	20	6,0	334	100
1974	168	58,7	32	11,2	64	22,4	22	7,7	286	100
1975	147	50,9	34	11,8	89	30,8	19	6,5	289	100
1976	124	42,9	42	14,5	98	33,9	25	8,7	289	100
1977	122	43,2	38	13,5	88	31,2	34	12,1	282	100
1978	101	35,2	45	15,7	93	32,4	48	16,7	287	100
1979	89	28,7	50	16,1	109	35,2	62	20,0	310	100
1980	121	30,4	72	18,1	126	31,7	79	19,8	398	100
1981	123	28,4	79	18,2	130	30,1	101	23,3	433	100
1982	106	23,4	88	19,4	160	35,2	100	22,0	454	100
1983	86	19,8	90	20,7	171	39,3	88	20,2	435	100

Source: Statistisches Landesamt Berlin, Berliner Statistik, Ausländer in Berlin (West) 1960-1973. Sonderheft 234, 5/75, p. 66. Sonderhefx 296, 7/80, Ausländer in Berlin (West) 1960 und 1978, p. 64. Sonderheft 342, 12/83, Ausländer in Berlin (West) 1960 bis 1981, p. 65.
Berliner Statistik, Statistische Berichte, Allgemeinbildende Schulen in Berlin (West), Schuljahr 1982/83, Teil 1, p. 22.
Berliner Statistik, Statistische Berichte, Allgemeinbildende Schulen in Berlin (West), Schuljahr 1983/84, Teil 1, p. 20.

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